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ABSTRACT

Although education frequently serves as a means of advance for underprivileged Americans, few Philadelphia blacks were able to take full advantage of this opportunity during the 1930s. These interwar years gave rise to a variety of economic issues that forced Negro teachers and public school administrators to choose between educational advantages for their students and their own economic security. When faced with a choice between general race elevation and middle class security, Philadelphia's black bourgeoisie regulated education for the Negro masses to secondary importance. Although race and class interests of black Philadelphians occasionally complemented one another (such as in the demand for hiring black teachers and administrators in secondary schools), when specific issues required solutions, no black concensus appeared. Like other members of the black middle class, teachers are less than totally committed to strong race conscious policies if their personal and class welfare appear threatened. Given the dilemma faced by black Philadelphians, the role of the educator within the Negro community is confusing, especially when dealing with a long standing problem such as school integration. Had Philadelphia negroes been able to resolve the dilemma between race and the class consciousness and to unite in racial solidarity, the benefits to black people of every class might well have been much greater than the token achievements of the 1930s. (Author/AM)

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Negro Education and the Dilemmas of Race and Class

One of the more conspicuous and significant aspects of Negro life has been the role of education in determining social status.[1] Negro children from deprived backgrounds who nevertheless finished college and professional schools gained membership in a Negro social elite.[2] Yet if education proved a vehicle to broaden opportunities, it also proved to be a wedge which separated educated Negroes from the black masses. As educated Negroes broke from lowly origins, and found new avenues for advancement, they invariably became more guarded in their personal life and fought to protect their newly acquired social status. Middle class blacks envisioned education as an avenue to success. Occasionally race and middle class interests merged. The push for increased numbers of Negro educators in public schools, for example, conceivably had a benign impact upon the intellectual and career development of black students. Nevertheless, Philadelphia's black bourgeoisie usually relegated education for the Negro masses to secondary importance when faced with a choice between general race elevation and middle class security during the 1930's. In no area of Negro life was that choice more

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obvious, or the consequences more important, than in education.

A variety of issues forced Negro teachers and public school administrators in Philadelphia to choose between educational advantages for their students and their own economic security. Faced with their tenuous position as middle class people with potentially declining fortunes, the issues seemed deeply personal to many teachers. Job security and family income, coupled with rent or home maintenance, assumed more attention from black teachers than did their responsibility to black children. Another related problem concerned the segregated black elementary schools where black instructors worked. The teachers did not necessarily enjoy working in segregated schools, but they disliked even more school board restrictions which prohibited them from teaching in Philadelphia's junior and senior high schools where incomes were higher. Again, the issue appeared less inspired by racial concern than by economic fears.

Evidence of the primacy of narrow self interest appeared during the 1920's as the numbers of black children enrolled in public schools nearly doubled. Between 1920 and 1930, 16,000 more Negro youngsters entered public schools.[3] By December 1930, Negro children numbered 35,273, an increase of 6.4 percent for the year and a gain of 91

percent for the ten year period 1920-1930. The Board of Education reported that nine of the city's ten school districts contained a large Negro population. White Philadelphians did not practice strict segregationist policies. No segregated junior or senior high schools existed for the older children. All with the exception of the few children who attended seventh and eighth grades with the black grammar schools, entered mixed schools. Younger children, however, were immediately placed in segregated elementary schools. To accommodate them, schools like Martha Washington and Stanton became separate schools for black children, and new schools like the O. V. Catto and Smith schools became segregated black institutions. By 1930, eleven separate schools and two school annexes existed for black children.[4] Black teachers who were staunch integrationists could have demanded an end to this practice. Instead, the teachers said nothing. Almost invariably, they, like other middle class blacks placed personal and class interests before racial consciousness.

Black children, who constituted the greatest percentage increase in Philadelphia's student enrollment, required the special attention of the city's black teachers and administrators. Many of these young pupils came from educational backgrounds limited by their rural southern heritage and the transient life style of their families.[5]

Most young newcomers from the South moved into predominately black communities. As they enrolled in black elementary schools, and retained the social comforts of a uniracial educational system, they usually found themselves among peers with comparable social and educational deficiencies. A study conducted in 1935 showed that nearly 75 percent of all sixth grade students attended two or more elementary schools, and few had the opportunity to mingle with children from the black middle class who usually attended mixed institutions.[6] The low per pupil expenditures in Negro schools suggested that black pupils used inferior facilities and thereby studied under adverse learning conditions. School districts, where per pupil expenditures reached as high as $181 for white schools, was limited to only $53 per pupil for black schools within those same districts.[7] Limited facilities placed ambitious Negro students at a disadvantage. Eventual disappointment, therefore awaited young black children who wished to become teachers, physicians, and nurses.[8]

Many enterprising black instructors experienced the hardships of the depression themselves and conceivably found it more difficult to teach effectively transient students.[9] In ward thirty's sixth district, for example, only half the black teachers resided in well kept homes, and several of these homes bordered on untenable, rundown

dwellings. Therefore, the pressures of every day living absorbed greater energy than teaching the less fortunate pupils enrolled in black schools.

Population shifts, the white exodus from the city and black influx into Philadelphia created additional problems for black educators. When the 1920's brought forth technological improvements in the telephone, radio, automobile, and subway, ambitious white Philadelphians were prompted to seek the comfortable confines of an emerging suburbia. The trend continued during the 1930's. This reduced the taxable income base available for Philadelphia's public schools.[10] Philadelphia's black population, however, increased significantly. Negro enrollment showed steady but moderate gains in the 1920's and early 1930's because of continued Southern migration, increases in birth rates, raising of the compulsory attendance age, and general unemployment among teenage youths.[11] Presumably, the increased Negro enrollment assured black teachers jobs. The decline of white students, however, and the concurrent loss of taxable income from departing white families placed black teachers in a tenuous position.[12] Since empoverished local Negroes contributed few tax dollars to support public schools, black teachers conceivably became expendable.

Few options existed for black teachers who wished to hold their jobs. The entire school system was in

jeopardy. Decreased tax income caused problems for school administrators seeking to balance budgets; but effects of the city's financial crisis were even more pronounced upon teachers and other employees in the Philadelphia school system. Signs of an impending crisis came early in the decade as the administrative and instructional supervisory staff numbering 215 in 1929 was reduced to 172 by 1933, and total teachers in the system declined from 8,068 in 1929 to 7,839 by 1933.[13] By 1935 the Philadelphia public school budget had been reduced by more than $2,000,000 from that of 1929, and as late as 1937 the School Board eliminated fifty-two teaching positions for the school year in elementary, kindergarten, and special education classes alone.[14] And by the decade's end, the number of professional blacks connected with public education rose only 9 percent despite the student increase of 28 percent. Teachers and other educational employees, whose positions were threatened by the precarious financial structure of the school system, south to preserve their jobs. Although the number of black elementary schools increased, Negro educators became concerned as the seventh and eighth grades were taken out of separate black institutions and moved to predominately white schools. Since the Philadelphia Board of Education prohibited blacks -- with one exception -- from teaching in junior high schools, oppor-

tunities for black educators remained limited.[15] Under these crises circumstances, black educators perceived that discriminatory policies were practiced against them even more widely than before. Therefore, they had little choice when deciding between uplifting the race through improvements in education or working strenuously to protect themselves.

The Depression and Economic Discrimination in Education

Although education frequently served as a means of advance for underprivileged Americans, few Philadelphia Negroes were able to take full advantage of this opportunity during the interwar years. Black students numbered only 121 of 4,366 Philadelphia high school graduates in 1928.[16] Since Negro children comprised 10 percent of the Philadelphia school age population, four times that number should have graduated if educational opportunities and benefits were equal. This inequity elicited no official black protest prior to 1930. It was generally known, however, that educational opportunities were not equal, and that educational achievement did not provide the city's Negroes with an income commensurate to that of their white peers.[17]

During the 1930's average incomes for Philadelphia Negroes remained low and inconsistent with their attained

educational level, while foreign and native born white men experienced slight increases in income the higher they climbed on the educational ladder.[18] Negro leaders remained mute. Nothing could be done to improve black students' fortunes. Likewise, it appeared they could do nothing to resolve a dilemma faced by all blacks regardless of class status and educational attainment. Their mute stance was modified, however, when the Board of Education did little to rectify discriminatory hiring policies in non-teaching capacities. Black silence was also replaced with concerted action, as soon as threats to the security of teaching and school administrative positions developed.

When the Board of Education moved its offices from 19th and Ludlow Streets to 21st Street and the Parkway in 1931, Negroes seeking employment in the new building approached Harry Rettew, an allegedly bigoted School Board member, who expressed shock that Negroes would bother to ask for elevator jobs.[19] As late as 1934, with the exception of a single Negro who performed odd jobs, the entire staff in the Board of Education building was lily-white. Non-professional employees faced further difficulties when Franklin G. Connor, Director of the Civil Works Administration for Philadelphia, asserted that no practice of discrimination existed, though black leaders

knew that the Board had requested C.W.A. officials not to send Negroes to work on Board projects.[20] Although the Negro press issued angry rejoinders to the board's practices, most Negro educators maintained silence.[21]

Discrimination toward Negroes was not limited to the hiring of unskilled workers in the School Board's administrative building. The interests of Negro professionals were also threatened by the hostile School Board, and then middle class blacks reacted. Some, however, contained both race and class connotations. The black bourgeoisie spoke out in behalf of the race as early as 1930 through the Girl Reserve Club of the Negro YWCA. YWCA leaders initiated discussions on the causes of race prejudice in Philadelphia high schools, and while conceding that "many colored pupils go from colored schools with a resentful attitude determined to make a race issue out of any criticism on work offered by a white teacher," the Board of Education received most of the blame for racial misunderstanding. White guidance counsellors specifically were singled out for criticism because they gave faulty advice to Negro students on course selection and encouraged Negro students to attend black normal schools.[22] The Girl Reserve Department, usually contained teenaged members from more affluent Negro families. The girls reflected parental views and sought to obtain professional

advice about economic and vocational conditions in the country.[23] They complained about the restrictive hiring practices of the School Board and encouraged the hiring of Negro guidance counsellors.

To race conscious Negroes, School Board indifference toward the counselling of Negro students merely served as part of a larger issue in Negro education; namely, the restrictive School Board policy in the hiring of Negro teachers. Negro teachers were limited to the thirteen predominately "colored" elementary schools in the city. And when Dr. Leroy Barber, President of the Board, candidly stated that he would never consider under any circumstances a colored teacher to teach white children, he gave voice to the consensus of School Board members.[24] Since this view applied to all Negroes, even those possessing a Ph.D., Negro teachers could easily be intimidated.[25]

When the School Board decided, in 1931, to limit every public grammar school to the first six grades, middle class blacks again showed concern. The greatest decline in Philadelphia's public school enrollment had been occurring in the grammar schools. The status of elementary school teachers, therefore, became more tenuous than that of other educators. While the number of black students steadily increased and assured Negro teachers jobs in segregated schools, traditional Jim Crow policies pro-

hibited blacks from teaching in junior and senior high schools. This restrictive policy insulted race conscious Negroes who disliked racial slights. Moreover, the board's decision to drop grades seven and eight from black grammar schools jeopardized the positions of the forty-odd Negro teachers who instructed upper level students. The issue was temporarily resolved when the teachers found employment in the recently opened segregated Arnold Elementary School at 22nd and Dolphin Streets, or were reassigned to teach grades one through six at other black grammar schools.[26] A dilemma, nevertheless remained. Employment problems for aspiring black elementary teachers became more difficult when the board failed to hire any new elementary school teachers between 1932 and 1934.[27] Additional black teachers could be hired only if those already employed moved from the city, retired, or died. Since these developments confined recent black college graduates to teaching in Negro schools, the black bourgeoisie maintained its interest in finding new positions for qualified blacks in the public schools. The only recourse available for Negro teachers, confined solely to black elementary schools, was to support aggressive Negro organizations and institutions which agitated for the appointment of Negro teachers to junior and senior high schools.

Leading the militant vanguard in support of Negro

teachers was the local Negro press. As early as 1926, the Philadelphia Tribune vociferously protested the policy of segregation and discrimination in Philadelphia schools. The paper warned the race against school counsellors who advised Negroes to prepare for traditional semi-skilled employment. Rather than have Negroes enrolled in the usual nonacademic subjects like domestic science, the Tribune argued that if Negroes were not prepared for certain special trades, the race would never participate in new occupations. When ominous signs appeared in 1931 threatening all Negro teachers in black schools, the Tribune predictably rushed to the teachers' defense. In a February 1931 editorial entitled "What of the Negro Teacher?", the Tribune asked the Negro community to support Negro teachers faced with dismissal from their jobs. By 1935 the paper had published numerous editorials which singled out the Board of Education for being what it considered the "arch foe of all that is decent and fair." Though the Tribune was avowedly Republican in politics, it blamed the city's Republic party for the Negro teachers' plight because Republican judges appointed the School Board members who maintained the restrictive hiring practices.[28] These attacks led to the creation of a special committee, appointed by the city administration, to investigate Tribune charges of discrimination. When the committee concluded that "no

segregation or discrimination in the public school system existed," the Tribune responded by printing the grievances of the Negro teachers -- the "known facts" of the Board's hiring practices. First, the paper resented School Board policy which prevented blacks from teaching in public junior and senior high schools. This discriminatory stance was particularly odious for the many highly qualified black teachers with graduate degrees. In addition, the names of blacks who passed the competitive teachers' examinations were placed on separate lists from those of prospective white teachers. A mixture of black and white teaching faculties became impossible and teachers in Philadelphia schools remained segregated. Finally, the paper disliked the Board's policy of placing black teachers solely in segregated black grammar schools.[29]

Negro teachers received an added boost from the Tribune's Democratic counterpart, the Philadelphia Independent. The Independent was more explicit in its condemnation when it published the differences in salaries paid to principals, teachers, and clerks on the senior high, junior high, and elementary school levels. Blacks found out that senior high school principals, teachers, and clerks earned between $500 and $1,900 more annually than their peers who worked in elementary and junior high schools.[30] This practice reflected negatively upon the

entire race since blacks were confined to work in elementary schools where salaries were lowest and earning potential limited.[31] Middle class black principals and teachers, of course, were denied the opportunity to work in the more prestigious junior and senior high schools.

The Independent revealed to an even greater extent the economic discrimination experienced by Negro teachers in Philadelphia when it compared the number and salaries of Negro educators with the proportion of Negroes in the city population, and the salaries of whites in similar positions. Excluding janitors, laborers, and administrative employees, 9,521 people were employed by the Philadelphia Department of Education in 1936. Negroes, comprising 10 percent of the city's population and 13 percent of the school enrollment, held only 250 or about 2.7 percent of the positions in the school system. The disparity in salaries seemed even more glaring. The 250 Negroes received approximately $500,000 or 2.3 percent out of a total annual payroll of $22,000,000. Another problem which frightened Negro teachers and led momentarily to a united front within the black community pertained to the Philadelphia Evening Schools.

All classes of Negroes seemed to agree that the evening schools run by the Board of Education were important to the race. Besides offering moonlighting opportuni-

ties, the schools provided training for Southern Negroes who tried to speed their adaptation to urban life through educational opportunities denied them in the South. The Philadelphia School District agreed to keep evening schools open as long as the numbers of people in attendance justified their operation.[32] In October 1931 the Negro YWCA announced that free evening classes would be conducted three times a week at the Barratt Junior High School, and that classes were offered in grade work 1-8, and in home economics, cooking, waiting, home-making, home nursing, millinery, and art work.[33] As the depression became more oppressive, however, Negro confidence in the schools waned, and adult enrollment in evening schools declined.[34] Between 1928 and 1933 attendance dropped from 31,000 to less than 23,000, and Superintendent Broome blamed unfortunate economic conditions and the discouragement wrought by depression for the decline. Concurrently, he added, a marked increase in the regularity of attendance had occurred, and the quality of instruction had improved.[35] Nevertheless, in 1938 the School Board had decided upon a program of retrenchment which would terminate the city's evening school program. All told, 14 evening schools were to be closed and 15,000 students, of whom 5,000 were black, would be dropped. When students learned of the proposed Board action, they gathered 8,000 petitions, picketed the homes

of Walter Saul and Morris Leeds, two Board members, and pleaded at the Sulzberger School to keep the schools open.[36]

Teachers and principals from the predominately Negro evening schools at Sulzberger and Barratt Junior High Schools, the Reynolds School, and the old Central High School felt it incumbent to become race conscious and organize a united front to maintain the night schools. George Lyle, the black principal of the Reynolds School, stated that: "The closing of Philadelphia's evening schools will not only be a great injury to the people, but a great injury to the educational system of the city."[37] Clarence H. Whyte, principal of the Sulzberger Evening School, expressed his regrets that the schools were being closed. And Tanner G. Duckery, principal of the Barratt Evening School, delivered a race and class conscious cry for maintaining the schools when he declared:[38]

> From the point of view of adult education it would be a backward step as well as false economy to close the evening schools. The Negro is getting his first real opportunity for intellectual development such as these evening schools afford.
>
> It would curtail the chief opportunity of Negro life as many have migrated to the North for greater educational opportunities for themselves and their children. The schools are a source of guidance for parents and a help to workers engaged in all types of individual and home making enterprises.

Negro teachers and administrators willingly used

race to gain class ends. Since the depression affected all Negroes, be they students or teachers, Negro educators actively worked for the continuation of school programs. Jobs were scarce during this harsh era, so Negro educators became wary of any cutbacks that would eliminate employment and thereby threaten their economic status. These educators realized that austerity programs invariably affected underprivileged people first and most severely. Since their race already was hardest hit by the depression, they feared that the new cutbacks threatened by the Board's decision would be inimical to all black Philadelphians -- teachers included.[39]

Some measure of satisfaction was achieved in School Board hiring policies when a black teacher finally received an appointment to a Junior High School and black instructors were appointed to teach in schools with recently mixed student bodies. Nevertheless, dilemmas developed which contradicted traditional attitudes of middle class black Philadelphians. One key problem concerned the means of achieving the best education possible for blacks without compromising the livelihood of black teachers. Other issues involved the role played by black leaders occupying an extremely important position in education, and the long standing problem of school integration.

Race, Class, and Middle Class Dissension

During the depression, Negro leaders continued to speak openly about education as a primary means of elevating Negroes as members both of an underprivileged class and a downtrodden race. Negroes were encouraged to obtain a better education, and the demand for equal educational opportunities continued despite harsh economic conditions. A concerned black woman urged Negro youth to continue their education, saying:[40]

> Never let anyone tell you that education isn't worthwhile because education is worth more than money.... Many of you will probably admit this, but you ask 'What good is it to me if I can't put it to any practical use? Here I am a High School graduate and almost starving....' Since the Negro race is progressing so splendidly, it would be a shame for young people of today to stop the progress which will certainly happen if we adopt the theory that education is not worthwhile.

This view probably represented the sentiments of a majority of Philadelphia Negroes, although it certainly was more prevalent among the middle class.

Evidence of this concern appeared through the Girl Reserves and other interested groups which held periodic meetings in the black YWCA to promote race advancement in education.[41] On one occasion a city-wide Parent-Teacher Association meeting convened at the Miller Baptist Church to discuss equal representation for Negroes in matters affecting school life in Philadelphia. On another,

Dr. Edwin F. Thompson sponsored a meeting of the North Philadelphia Youth Movement to establish better educational facilities in the North Philadelphia area. These acts illustrated the length to which certain Philadelphia Negroes went to provide a better education for black youths, assert racial pride, and protect Negro dignity. Unfortunately, no lasting achievements resulted from the PTA and youth movement meetings. These abortive attempts could be partly explained by examining the daily problems of black teachers. Teachers who resided in Ward 30, for example, had reason to be pre-occupied more with personal survival than education. Despite their professional status in the community, and the apparent respect accorded to those engaged in the teaching profession, only one-third of the black teachers lived in neat, structurally sound dwellings, and shared their home exclusively with gainfully employed friends and relatives. Most lived with unemployed persons in unsatisfactory dwellings.

Elizabeth Moles and William Branch experienced difficulties that were typical of those which confronted most Negro teachers. Miss Moles, a teacher at the Dunbar School, belonged to the NAACP, and had resided for at least five years in the community, but her home and those within the immediate vicinity contained welfare recipients. William Branch faced difficulties equal to Miss Moles's.

Branch commuted 60 miles to the predominately black Howard High School in Wilmington, Delaware, the only secondary institution employing black teachers, and returned daily to a run-down apartment building occupied by an elevator operator, a janitor, and people on welfare.

Although Moles and Branch might be expected to think first about themselves, the confusing activities of John P. Turner, the first Negro appointed to the Philadelphia Board of Education, illustrate another dimension of self-interest. Every two years, terms expired for five of the fifteen board members. When one of the members retired in 1933 the Tribune made a concerted effort to rally the Negro masses behind the appointment of a Negro to the School Board. In an emotional appeal, the editor asked for cooperation from the Negro community, announced that there was a vacancy on the Board which must be filled, and stated that "the principles and inalienable rights of democratic government" entitled a Negro to the position.[42] The Tribune divided to push the candidacy of Dr. John P. Turner.

Dr. Turner, a prominent Negro physician, was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina, graduate of Shaw University, Republican, Mason, and member of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Turner had lived in Philadelphia since 1920, and he had influential friends. Although overlooked

earlier in the decade, prospects for his appointment brightened in 1933 when Judge Harry S. McDevitt nominated him to fill a position on the Board.[43] Again Turner was by-passed as prominent whites received appointments to the Board. By June 1935, an apparent milestone in Negro education was achieved when Turner succeeded the late Chester N. Farr and was finally elected to the Board of Education.[44] There were, however, undercurrents of dissent concerning Turner's new position, for concerned Negroes who knew him well had reservations about the extent of his race consciousness and the intensity of his commitment to the welfare of poor as well as middle class Negroes.[45]

During the fall of 1935 Turner did little to allay these doubts as he cautiously prepared for the responsibilities of his new office. Nevertheless, even the most vociferous and militant representatives of the Negro press advised their readers not to expect immediate results. Turner must be given time to win the confidence of fellow Board members, they argued. Since one Negro in an influential position was deemed better than no Negro, the black community gave him time. When he did act, however, it became obvious that his primary interest was in the welfare of certain influential members of the Negro community.

Early in 1936 the Negro press announced that Turner had succeeded in having the Citizens and Southern Bank and

Trust Company, a Negro banking establishment controlled by the R. R. Wright family, assigned as one of the depositories for the Board of Education funds. Since the Board had the responsibility of transferring funds to raise revenue for public schools, Turner's action proved defensible and for the Wright family extremely laudable.[46] The deposit increased the working capital of Citizens and Southern, and returned interest to the Board. The Board placed over $20,000 in the bank, and the Philadelphia Independent noted that as much as $52,000 could be legally added to the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company at a later date.[47] Turner's first official race conscious act in behalf of black Philadelphians benefitted Major R. R. Wright but had little if any meaning, to the majority of the city's Negroes.

A better test of Turner's attitudes occurred when the School Board contemplated moving Central High School, Philadelphia's leading secondary institution, from center city to the outlying Olney area.[48] The move aroused Negro anxiety for two reasons. First, the School Board refused to hold an open meeting to discuss moving the school. Second, Negroes feared that many families would be unable to afford transportation to the school's new location. Therefore concerned blacks envisioned the Board's action as a means of excluding Negroes from the school in order

to placate whites living in more affluent Olney-Ogontz neighborhoods. Radical organizations such as the Communist Party pledged support to Negroes wishing to prevent the removal of Central High.[49] Turner, however, refused to take a position on the issue, and Negro leaders with broad racial objectives soon became disgruntled by his behavior.

On March 9, 1937 the Board met to vote on the removal of the school to its new location. Negroes were urged to attend the meeting to forestall Board action, and approximately 250 blacks, headed by attorney Raymond Pace Alexander, attempted to prevent passage of the resolution. Alexander attacked the prejudicial motives behind the resolution by noting that 1,200 of 1,300 black students at Central High who walked to school would be unable to travel to the new building at the Olney-Ogontz site. Alexander noted that 80% of the Negro parents earned between $15 and $20 per week rendering transportation to the new school impossible.[50] Alexander believed that his clients would win because Dr. Turner had promised to fight against the resolution himself and encourage others to follow his example. Votes were cast, and the Central High resolution passed overwhelmingly; a newly created "gag rule" made future protests useless, and most important, Turner betrayed Alexander by voting for the resolution and then apologizing for his race's "injection of race and

religion" into the discussion.[51]

Turner gave further evidence of his conservative stance when Negroes asked for fair play in hiring practices at the new Vaux Junior High School. Since Vaux was located in a predominately black neighborhood, and had a 90 percent Negro enrollment, the School Board promised to assign a number of Negro staff to the school. Having been approached by race leaders prior to the opening of Vaux in September, 1937, Turner noted that twenty Negroes were high on the eligibility list, and that appointments would be made on merit.[52] But when the school opened, only one of the sixty professional employees was black and she was hired with the empty title of faculty advisor, not as a teacher.

Past Board practices suggested the reason for an absence of black teachers at Vaux Junior High. Cards of Negro applicants were clipped so that the racial identity of prospective teachers as known.[53] As a Board member, Turner did nothing to halt this discriminatory practice. A Negro with a modicum of race consciousness, moreover, would have objected to the appointment of only one black teacher at Vaux. Yet Turner said nothing about this, nor about the qualifications of Margaret Maguire, the white principal of the Vaux School eventually dismissed for non-professional and unethical conduct.[54] Supposedly, all

principals were selected because of their proven abilities as teachers and administrators. In this particular case, the merit system failed and undermined morale at Vaux Junior High. However, when asked about hiring a black principal to replace Miss Maguire in the predominantly Negro school, Turner replied again that the selection would be based on merit.[55] Turner and the Superintendent's Office promised blacks that no appointment would be made before competitive examinations were held for the position. Nevertheless, D. Willard Zahn, the white principal of the Barry Public School, received the appointment at Vaux prior to the examinations. The superintendent's department argued that the conditions at Vaux militated against the appointment of a Negro principal. Dr. John Turner offered no rebutal.[56]

Turner's behavior presented a curious dilemma to race conscious Negroes in Philadelphia, for recall would have removed the only Negro on the Board, while continued reticence would enable Turner to continue protecting white middle class interests at the expense of his race. An equally confusing aspect of Turner's role on the Board developed when he performed services for black teachers and received praise from the black community. On Monday, July 12, 1937, the Philadelphia School Board appointed seven blacks to integrate schools with lily white teaching

staffs. Turner was lauded by the Independent and credited with making an about-face from his previous positions.[57] Floyd Logan, President of the Educational Equality League, a serious black dominated organization, also commended Turner for outstanding work and cooperation with his group.[58]

Dr. Turner remained at his post because black Philadelphians did not adopt a uniform policy on education and because educational matters reflected the general conflicts between racial and class affiliations with the black community. These differences became apparent when issues pertaining to the class interests of Negro teachers and administrators as opposed to the black masses had to be resolved.

Negro educators played a confusing role within the Negro community during the 1930's. Some were dedicated to mitigating the educational deprivations of the young blacks, while others saw themselves as a gifted elite dispensing "truth and light" to little "black" children.[59] The Smith, Durham, and Logan Schools were three of the best grammar schools in the city. Their Negro principals, however, objected strenuously to the admission of Negro orphans; "they did not want anyone like that," they said.[60]

Black principals and teachers instilled racial consciousness among Negro children in segregated grammar schools

through instruction in Negro history and the presentation of talented Negro artists such as violinist Charles McCabe and pianist Walter Glenford. The race-class dilemma appeared most clearly, however, when the issue of segregated schools emerged. Administrators and teachers who presented the black experience in a positive light to Negro children might be expected to provide outspoken opposition to Jim Crow schools. Like most middle class blacks of the "thirties," black teachers usually opposed racial segregation.[61] Yet their tacit acceptance of segregation in public schools became apparent when outsiders broached the subject. Negro educators spoke evasively of the number of black principals and teachers, the achievement of prominent educators, and Negro children in the city -- but not of segregated schools.[62] Black educators allegedly adopted this policy because of an expressed desire to maintain their professional image and avoid controversy. Their attitude, however, was connected more intimately to the fear that integrated elementary schools would cause Negro educators to be replaced by whites.[63] Instead of working toward the integration of elementary schools, a policy consistent with integrationist beliefs, Negro educators only sought to persuade the School Board to place black teachers in the junior and senior high schools.[64]

Many black integrationists refused to accept racial

segregation in Philadelphia schools and the apathy among Negro educators. In January 1932, a Citizens Committee of Fifteen was organized as the Educational Equality League under the direction of Floyd Logan.[65] The League's original membership contained prominent members of the black community including a prominent black Elk John M. Marquess; Walter A. Gray, an assistant United States district attorney; boxing commissioner, Joseph H. Rainey; Tribune editor, E. Washington Rhodes; and attorneys Sadie Alexander and John Francis Williams.[66] As laymen dedicated to improving educational opportunities for all Philadelphia children, particularly black students, the League worked strenuously to create a free city college, upgrade black teachers, eliminate "racist" books from library shelves, prohibit the segregation of black and white students, and integrate black teachers into the public schools.[67]

When the League began, the Philadelphia schools had only 285 Negro teachers and eleven Negro principals, all working in black schools.[68] These eleven schools were separate and unequal, the only exceptions begin with the aforementioned Smith, Durham, and Logan Schools because of the excellent Negro principals and teaching staffs.[69] Since the League requested the experimental integration of public school facilities, and the appointment of Negro teachers to junior and senior high schools, it received

the unqualified support of black educators when its representatives first appeared before the Board of Education in June, 1934.

The League enjoyed immediate success, as it was instrumental in obtaining the appointment of John Turner to the Board of Education, enabled Mrs. Beatrice Claire Overton to become the first Negro appointed to a secondary school, and removed barriers to Negroes seeking employment in the school system's custodial and maintenance divisions.[70] Its initial successes and the comaraderie which existed between the League and Negro educators, however, was unable to prevent an eventual confrontation within the middle class between professional educators and laymen. In July 1936, Floyd Logan announced that the opportunity was near at hand for a Negro to instruct in a mixed school. Ostensibly, this announcement coincided with the expressed wishes of Negro teachers who had been seeking the integration of Negro faculty into Philadelphia schools for years. Nevertheless, a harbinger of the future appeared when the League solicited the names of teachers who would be willing to integrate staffs of Philadelphia schools. Tanner Duckery, principal of the Durham School, appeared as the only Negro administrator willing to provide the League with names of Negro teachers who should apply for transfers. But when these teachers were approached by the League, discretion

proved to be stronger than valor; everyone of the teachers refused to move.[71]

An even more serious crisis took place when the League attempted to end the policy of confining teachers to Negro schools through the use of dual lists. Since 1870 the Philadelphia Board of Education recommended that blacks be prohibited from teaching in white schools. The Board maintained this tradition by establishing two separate lists of eligibles for appointment to public schools, and continued this policy into the 1930's.[72] As League activities against the dual lists intensified, the friendly accord between the League and Negro teachers deteriorated. It soon became plain that the latter placed personal interests before race gains. Given the scarcity of jobs during the depression, some black teachers feared that a non-segregated list would militate against Negroes, for white teachers could be hired to teach in elementary schools previously reserved for black faculty. From January through June of 1937, debates took place between the League which opposed dual lists, the Pennsylvania Association of Teachers' of Colored Children which sought to maintain the status quo, and factions within the Negro community supporting one side or the other. Each group envisaged itself as the true race conscious educational representative, and even the more conservative PATCC had a legitimate reason

for voicing its position when it declared:[73]

> The single list has been achieved at a time when the number of colored children in the system has shown regular increase and the number or white children regular decrease. The Equality League requesting the change at this time fully realized that their insistence would result in the gradual decrease in the number of colored teachers....
>
> For some reason...the Equality League... has been attempting to befog the issue by trying to show that the P.A.T.C.C. is advocating segregation or is working only in the interest of the teachers while they have the more altruistic program in the interest of our children.

Continuing their argument by accusing the League of trying to sacrifice the teachers "to the salvation of the race," the teachers affirmed their belief in a democratic school system which provided Negro teachers with an opportunity to teach "in all branches of the service." This stand, they advised, was not inimical to the education of Negro children. The League countered by arguing that preference for "colored" teachers served only to perpetuate segregation and benefit black educators only. Interests of pupils, their parents, and others who pay taxes would be disregarded.[74]

Despite PATCC counter efforts, the merged list represented the consensus of black thought and became an adopted School Board policy in March, 1937.[75] The following month, PATCC fears became reality when the Independent

reported the effect of the new system on prospective Negro employees when Marshall Tyree dropped from first on the separate list to number 390 on the merged list. Other Negro teachers suffered a similar fate. Gladys Jones moved from number 3 to 499; Henrietta Hughes from 5 to 470; Charlotte Ross from 7 to 493; Trumbell Valdera from 8 to 503; Helen Cujet from 11 to 577; Gladys Calloway from 14 to 644; Helen Turner from 17 to 708; James Parker from 18 to 762; Jewel Rich from 23 to 792; and Anna Boyer from 23 to 941.[76]

On May 13, 1937, the PATCC responded to the Board's discriminatory ranking by convening a meeting at the Thomas Durham School to prepare its fight against the recently passed merged school list. George Lyle, staunch supporter of the evening schools, served as chairman of the meeting. Organizations represented were the Elks, American Legion, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, the New Hope, St. Paul, Friendship, and Second Baptist Churches, the City-Wide Young People's Forum, the Howard University Alumni, O. V. Catto Lodge, the Amicita Club, and other Negro societies.[77] The meeting heard disgruntled Negro teachers advocate reinstatement of the separate list system, because the merged lists made it virtually impossible for Negroes to obtain teaching positions in Philadelphia. Five days later, a second meeting was held at the Durham School. At this conference the

PATCC adopted resolutions declaring that blacks should be appointed immediately to the Board of Examiners, the Rating Board, and Department of Superintendents, and black teachers should be allotted more positions in Philadelphia's Schools.[78]

Arthur H. Fauset, principal of the Joseph Singerly School, supported the League in its stand for a merged list. Fauset held that integration should be the primary goal of the race, and he suggested that all separate schools -- involving both students and faculty -- be eliminated. Fauset then urged that black administrators and teachers be placed in the superintendent's office, the Philadelphia Normal School, high school, and special departments.[79]

Spokesmen for both sides exemplified race interests. Differences occurred, however, when the scope of each group's objectives was evaluated. The PATCC maintained a primary interest in the welfare of Negro teachers. The Educational Equality League also sought justice for Negro teachers but was equally concerned about the welfare of black students. Shortly after June 19, 1937, the most intense opposition to the merged lists developed in the Citizens Co-ordinating Committee, which comprised fifty-three black organizations. Seeking to end the suspension of separate lists, the committee, composed largely of

Negroes with middle class views, sought to discourage Educational Equality League activities in a standing room only meeting.[80] Neither side backed down, but the fight within the Negro community over the education lists indicated the polarization which existed among black Philadelphians. Negroes appeared to be fighting for class objectives and were willing to use race as their fundamental tool; but the objectives became clouded by the endemic haggling so often characteristic of those relegated to "second class" citizenship. Decisions insignificant to the mass of Negroes were pronounced crucial to the well being of the Negro lower classes. When expedient, therefore, race became an effective emotional argument used to defend attitudes held by an influential elite.

The Fallacy of Complacency

In spite of the divisiveness within the Negro community, the rift over the merged list proved only temporary, for most middle class blacks opposed segregation and supported Equality League efforts to improve educational rights of Philadelphia Negroes.[81] In July 1937 the League succeeded in cracking the "color line" in Philadelphia schools when the Board assigned two white teachers to the faculty of a predominately Negro school. The significant breakthrough occurred, though, when the Board selected

seven Negro teachers to integrate white faculties which had always been segregated.[82] Student bodies in junior and senior high schools had been integrated for years, and it appeared that adolescent boys and girls could be trusted more than an inter-racial faculty of adults.

Floyd Logan's Educational Equality League urged Negroes to apply for jobs in the Public Library, sought qualified Negroes who could teach library science in junior high schools, and encouraged black applicants for positions in vocational schools. By the close of the decade, the League continued to push for a more positive attitude on the part of the Board of Education toward Negroes.

In addition to integration of secondary level faculties, other successes appeared. For the first time the financial depression united over 800 Negro and white students who demanded that the State provide free colleges in Philadelphia. John Turner, in one of his better moments, successfully terminated the University of Pennsylvania's practice of sending Negro education majors to Chester or Sharon Hill for student teaching because those school districts contained a Negro high school. Turner's efforts encouraged Dr. Parke Shock, Associate Superintendent of Schools, to announce that Philadelphia schools would be available for Negro student-teachers from the University

of Pennsylvania on the same basis as for whites.[83] Although Negro faculty were unwelcome in Philadelphia's secondary schools, at least Negro student teachers gained experience working in the city's schools.

The School Board even appeared to adopt a pro-Negro stand when parents of white children attending Vaux Junior High protested the intimidation of their children by Negro students and threatened to boycott the school. When the Board ordered white parents to return their children to Vaux or be fined, the parents complied with the Board's mandate, and no further mention was made of the unruly Negro children.[84]

Although such gains made headlines in the black press, Negroes remained subject to the capricious attitude of the white-dominated School Board. Despite specific achievements, segregated schools continued and only a token number of Negro teachers obtained positions in schools with integrated student bodies. Although integrated faculties existed in mixed and predominately black schools, staffs at all white elementary and junior high schools remained lily white. The Board proved only as liberal as it cared to be, a fact illustrated in the treatment accorded an artist of national repute Allan Freelon, who sought the position of Art Supervisor for Philadelphia schools.

In 1937 Freelon was passed over for the position of

Art Supervisor despite his fame and previous experience as an art director.[85] The following year Judge Francis Biddle interceded in Freelon's behalf and thus enabled him to become the first Negro supervisor of art in all Philadelphia junior high and vocational schools. When Judge Biddle resigned from his seat on the Board of Education, an attempt was made to oust Freelon from the post. Because the position qualified Freelon to serve on the examining boards which determined the position of eligibles on the substitute list, certain board members feared that he could undermine their authority. To minimize Freelon's importance, the Board decided to kick him upstairs by designating him to be the first Negro to join a senior high school faculty in Philadelphia.[86] When Freelon refused to change positions, the Board embarked upon another subterfuge. Abruptly, the Board announced that Freelon was only temporarily assigned to the position he held and that an open examination would be held for the position of Art Supervisor in the city's junior high and vocational schools.[87] John Turner, the sole Negro on the Board, reverted to previous conduct and did not inform the Negro community about the impending examination. The Board's announcement created an immediate furor in the Negro press, where its action was depicted as being an affront to Freelon and an attack on the Negro race.[88] Blacks

were particularly disturbed since the examination had never before been given for the position. This also marked the first time a degree was required for taking the exam, the standing of candidates as professional artists was considered, and an outside examining board was recruited to evaluate the candidates' qualifications.[89] Twelve candidates, including Freelon took the examination, and to the chagrin of the art supervisors and hostile Board members, Freelon won. Nevertheless, it was evident that the Negro community remained almost completely at the mercy of strong-willed white administrators.

The board had considerably more to think about than upgrading black administrators and expanding job opportunities for black teachers. Besides trying to balance a precarious budget, the board had to consider the needs of white teachers being suspended because of declining school enrollments. It also had to consider potential problems which could arise from highly trained, but unemployed whites qualified to perform administrative and teaching duties. Individuals like Harold Logman, an unemployed white professor with advanced degrees in economics, were refused employment in Philadelphia public schools.[90] Therefore black educators in segregated schools who maintained job security because of steadily increasing black enrollments were unlikely to receive the primary consider-

ation of school board members. The alleged racism of school board members like Harry Rettew also militated against black teachers and administrators.

Meanwhile, the black community had to contend with its own problems. The depression failed to heal long standing class differences. Economic security remained foremost in people's minds, and teachers conformed with standard practices of self interest. As members of a proud middle class, teachers fought racial discrimination which prohibited them from demonstrating their fitness as educators. At the same time, they wished to protect their precarious financial status by monopolizing jobs in the segregated elementary schools. Allan Freelon's problems were racial, not personal, and did not produce the same intensified public outcry from teachers as the dual list controversy. The board, moreover, realized that teachers would not jeopardize their jobs by going on strike for a racial cause. Those blacks willing to make Freelon a cause celibre were small in number and incapable of carrying out a sustained drive against racial discrimination practiced by the board against the black community.

In the final analysis, the board remained omnipotent, and only responded to pressure from the black community when the stakes were extremely small. The number of black teachers, for example, did not change significantly despite

significant increases in black student enrollment.[91] Before Alexander J. Stoddard became the newly appointed superintendent of schools in 1939, a man apparently willing to support Negroes who recommended fairness in hiring policies, blacks merely constituted 3 percent of all employees in the public school system. No blacks served as senior high school principals, assistant principals, department heads, teachers, or secretaries. Mrs. Fleming Tucker of Vaux Junior High served as the only black counselor in the public schools, and Sulzberger Junior High's Beatrice Claire Overton was the only upper level black teacher. Three years later nothing substantially had changed. No blacks taught in the senior high schools and none were added to the counseling and junior high school staffs.[92]

Racial bigotry probably played a large part in neutralizing many so-called attempts toward racial unity conducted by black leaders during the 1930's. Nevertheless, factionalism, conservatism, and distrust within the Negro community enabled bigoted administrators to manipulate the divided Negro opposition and limit educational changes which could benefit black Philadelphians. Rather than criticizing an opponent, discussion was invariably reduced to a personal level. For example, Arthur H. Fauset, a strong race militant, became the object of criticism from

Lancelot Tynes, a young black college student in Philadelphia. Tynes believed Fauset's already noted principalship prevented him from vocally criticizing the Board of Education. Perhaps this opinion should have been aired, but criticism could have also been directed upon the PATCC and the Educational Equality League for not speaking out against the deterioration of schools in districts where Negro enrollment increased. Neither organization said anything about dilapidated schools and the subsequent vandalism and indifference which characterized Negro youths' attitudes toward education.[93] Militant Negro organizations and black leaders, for all their interest in Negro education, voiced little organized protest against the low morale of black students.[94]

Actions undertaken by black activists during the thirties seemed predicated on the belief that fair employment practices for Negro teachers would filter down to improve the standard of education for Negro children. As late as December 1938 the key to educational improvement for black students was seen by the PATCC, the Cooperative Committee, and prominent black educators to be the Negro teacher because as Dr. Stoddard again was asked to end Jim Crow practices which confined Negro teachers to elementary schools.[95] In 1940 an interracial committee investigating causes for juvenile delinquency recommended

that a greater number of Negro teachers be hired to instruct black students. Since blacks comprised over 1/5 of the total school population as opposed to only 1/25 of the city's teachers, and no Negro principals were found in the junior or senior high schools, the committee's recommendation seemed reasonable. Moreover, the committee estimated that a more appropriate Negro teacher-student ratio would tend to lessen the rate of delinquency among black children, since it was assumed that Negro teachers were better equipped to understand the problems of a Negro child than were white teachers.[96]

Superficially Stoddard mitigated the causes of Negro protests, and did so through administrators who spoke about the merits of black schools. Unfortunately, few if any of the black teachers and administrators addressed themselves to the limitations on instruction taking place in a hostile milieu. Their personal interests prevented them from addressing these problems. Had Negro teachers solicited help from the black community for other than selfish reasons, they might have improved both their own and the Negro students' position.[97] When Negro teachers and black community leaders responded to the published record of malevolence on the part of Board members and city education officials toward the race, their protests coincided with the interests of their social and economic

class. Their primary objectives were devoted toward liberalizing the School Board's employment policies. The needs of the huge majority of Negroes in the working class, and especially of working class children were almost entirely forgotten. Negro educators witnessed little advancement in their employment status, and the educational welfare of Negro children hardly improved.

Race and class interests of black Philadelphians occasionally complemented each other. Demands for hiring black teachers and administrators in secondary schools, and adding black guidance counselors to high school staffs were made to benefit all black Philadelphians. Nevertheless, when specific issues like the dual list question required resolution, no black consensus appeared. Teachers looked after their own self interests. Like other members of the black middle class, they were less than totally committed to strong race conscious policies if their personal and class welfare appeared threatened.

Racial appeals were used for class or personal interests, which were claimed as benefits for the entire race. Every concession obtained in this fashion lulled members of the black community into an unsuspecting complacency. Although it was true that race conscious Negroes were fighting, gracious concessions from white administrators mitigated racially-motivated protests.[98] Had Phila-

delphia Negroes been able to resolve the dilemma between race and the class consciousness, and to unite in racial solidarity, the benefits to black people of every class might well have been much greater than the token achievements of the 1930's.

Footnotes

1. E. Franklin Frazier, "Certain Aspects of Conflict in the Negro Family," Social Forces, X (October, 1931), p. 76.

2. See St. Clair Drake and Horace Clayton, Black Metropolis, II, New York: Harper and Row, 1962, pp. 655-56 and 667; and Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, II, New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1964, pp. 644-47 and 883-86.

3. PSA, "Negro Education in Philadelphia Part Two From 1861 to the Present," p. 4.

4. PSA, "Negro Education...", op. cit., pp. 5-6.

5. See PSA, The Negro in Philadelphia Education, op. cit., p. 4; Armstrong Association, "486 Negro Pupils in 6th Grade Classes of Separate Schools in Philadelphia," June, 1933, pp. 3-5.

6. "486 Negro Pupils...", op. cit., pp. 4-8. Only 24 of 356 students who responded to questions about parental occupations, were sons and daughters of middle class and professional parents. Mrs. Richard Bland, a former teacher in black schools, and Mrs. Sadie Alexander stated that the Negro elite sent their children to mixed public or private schools.

7. See Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, School Districts of Philadelphia, 1930.

8. See Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia, 1926-1940; "The Negro in Philadelphia Education," op. cit., pp. 9-11; and Armstrong Association, report by Donald N. Wyatt, "Vocational Aims of a Selected Group of Negro Students," pp. 1-2, ~~and~~ Wyatt found that nearly half the students surveyed chose to become teachers, physicians, and nurses.

9. Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia, December 1930, p. 308. In fact, white children of school census age decreased in number every year since 1922 with the exception of the years 1920 and 1927.

10. See Sam Bass Warner, The Private City (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968), pp. 169-176.

11. See John Henry Brodhead, (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation) "Educational Achievement and Its Relation to the Socio-Economic Status of the Negro," Temple University, 1937. Also see PSA, op. cit., p. 3.

12. Statistical Reports of the Philadelphia Department of Instruction, 1939, Table 18, p. 133.

Comparative Statement for Ten Year Period
1930-1939

Children Six to Sixteen Years of Age
Classified by Race

Year	White	Negro	Oriental	Total
1930	311,484	35,273	135	346,892
1931	307,887	36,279	142	344,308
1932	304,125	38,149	150	342,424
1933	297,809	38,857	140	336,806
1934	292,404	39,602	135	332,141
1935	286,918	40,745	134	327,797
1936	278,837	41,938	189	320,914
1937	271,615	43,337	145	315,097
1938	261,622	44,319	196	306,137
1939	254,666	45,065	222	299,953

13. Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, 1934, op. cit., p. 109. [The questions here pertained to morale rather than what seemed to be an acceptable cut in staffing given declining student enrollment.] An average of 42 students per teacher was maintained. Teacher morale declined as dismissals and few new appointees characterized employment in Philadelphia schools.

14. Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia, 1935, p. 96. Also see Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia, report of Superintendent Broome, p. 105. In real dollars, based upon consumer indexes, a $12,000,000 decline seems insignificant, however to employed and prospective teachers, and others dependent upon school finances, there was less money available.

15. Mss. PSA, op. cit., "Negro Education in Philadelphia Part II -- From 1861 to the Present," n.d., p. 6. The Reynolds School at 23rd and Jefferson Streets proved the only exception and retained its 7th and 8th grade classes. Black concern over this development was justified. As late as 1941 only Beatrice Claire taught in a junior high school. There were no black senior high teachers. Mss. PSA, op. cit., Philadelphia Interview with Clarence R. Whyte, principal Durham-Arthur School, March 26, 1941, p. 1.

16. Lawrence W. Auld, "A Study for Recreational Facilities for Negroes in the City of Philadelphia" (unpublished masters thesis, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania), p. 28.

17. See Clague and Powell, op. cit., p. 21. Blacks with comparable education to whites never earned as much as their white peers. In this sample there was an $18.56 differential between the income of black and white college graduates, an $11.05 differential between black and white high school graduates, and an $8.16 differential between respective members of those races who completed the first eight grades.

18. See Merklin, op. cit., p. 122; and Clague and Powell, op. cit., p. 15.

19. Tribune, October 29, 1931.

20. Tribune, March 1, 1934.

21. See Tribune, June 14, 1934.

22. YWCA Correspondence: A Report Prepared by the Girl Reserve Department, February, 1930, p. 1. In 1932, only one school had a Negro teacher above the sixth grade. See YWCA Correspondence: A Report Prepared by the Girl Reserve Department, December, 19321. Although membership lists for Girl Reserves are missing, the membership usually contained middle class girls. Lower class girls dropped out of "Y" activities during their teens because of hostile teachers, Y directors, shortage of funds, and marriage. See TUA, YWCA Club Characteristics, particularly Les Aimes Fills, Iota Sigma Chi, and the Alumni Club.

23. TUA, YWCA: See A Report Prepared by the Girl Reserve Department, December, 1932.

24. Tribune, April 14, 1932.

25. It was not uncommon to find Negro Ph.D.'s teaching on the elementary level. Miss Idabell Yeiser held a Ph.D. in French but was prohibited from teaching on the secondary level because of her race. Agnes Berry, a medical doctor, also taught elementary school. Interview, Allan Freelon Jr., personal interview held in his home, December 8, 1968.

26. See Mss., PSA, "Negro Education..." op. cit., p. 6.

27. Tribune, June 7, 1934.

28. Following in the wake of Tribune editorials came charges of Board discrimination by the Educational Equality League and the Pennsylvania Association for Teachers of Colored Children (PATCC).

29. Tribune, April 11, 1935.

30. Independent, May 10, 1936.

31. Ibid.

32. Annual Report of the Board of Public Instruction, 1930, op. cit., p. 1019. This opinion was given soon after the "Crash" and the more devastating affect of the depression had yet to impinge on the Department of Instruction.

33. TUA, YWCA: "A Report re Employment Department and Class Work," October 31, 1931.

34. Annual Report of the Board of Public Education, School District of Philadelphia, 1933, p. 169. Unfortunately, the percentage of Negro students was not given. But since 1/3 of all evening school students were estimated to be black in 1938, probably no less than 1/4 of the enrollment was Negro between 1928 and 1933.

35. Ibid., p. 21. The Report of Board President Joseph W. Catherine was not as optimistic, for he was annoyed that idle people did nothing to prepare themselves for the resumption of industry as they had during earlier depressions.

See Inquirer and Bulletin, January 21-24, 1938 and

36. Independent, January 23, 1938. See columns by Kenton Jackson, "Retrenchment Program of the Board of Educa-

tion Protested by Pickets," and Helen Lee, "600 Students Voice Plea to 'Keep Schools'".

37. Independent, January 23, 1938. See column by Al Dunmore, "Night Schools Afford Many the Chance to Battle Problems of Life with Education."

38. Independent, January 23, 1938. Column by Earl Barnes, "Closing Evening Schools is Death Blow for Education of Thousands of Negroes."

39. In addition to the crisis faced by Negro teachers, unlearned adults would have their desire for education blunted, and specific areas where services were provided for Negro children such as playgrounds, and health aids, would be terminated. To Negroes, the Board's desire to save $1,700,000 simply did not seem to be important.

40. Tribune, Letter to the Editor, July 5, 1934.

41. See YWCA Correspondence: A Report Prepared by the Girl Reserve Department, February, 1930, p. 1. YWCA Correspondence and a Report Prepared by the Girl Reserve Department, December 1931.

42. Tribune, July 10, 1930.

43. This was done in spite of a Ku Klux Klan letter to Judge McDevitt warning him against such action. It might also be noted that Judge McDevitt, a white man, was also known as "Hanging Harry," and though he often posed as being a friend to the Negro, his decisions on the bench often proved otherwise. This opinion was given by Raymond Pace Alexander and was verified in Branch Correspondence of the NAACP. See mss. Library of Congress, Philadelphia Branch Correspondence, Box G-187, Julian St. George White to James Welden Johnson, April 3, 1929.

44. An additional suggestion that Negroes were making great strides for educational rights was seen when Beatrice Bradley Claire became the first Negro teacher appointed to teach in a Philadelphia junior high school in October of the same year.

45. Mrs. Richard Bland, personal interview, held at the Freelon home, December 8, 1968. Mrs. Bland who lived near Dr. Turner reported that the doctor refused to

send his daughter to the Smith School, an excellent Negro elementary school, and sent her instead to a white elementary school outside the neighborhood.

46. See City Hall Archives manual of the City Council (Horace Mayer Co., 1933), p. 234.

47. Independent, March 8, 1936.

48. Negro fears seemed to be justified, as the enrollment at Central High was reputed to be 42 percent Negro, while the new location at 16th and Olney Streets was five miles from center city where the population density of Negroes was much smaller. Of the ten school districts, District 8, composed primarily of native white executive and professional people, where the school would be relocated, had the fifth lowest Negro enrollment of all districts (2,843 Negro students). See Statistical Reports of the Department of Instruction, 1937, op. cit., p. 155.

49. See Independent, Letter to the Editor, March 7, 1937.

50. See PSA, The Philadelphia Negro "Objections to Removal of Central High," Interview, Raymond Pace Alexander, n.d., pp. 1-2. Alexander argued that 1,200 of the 1,300 black students attending Central High could walk to school but only 50 lived within walking distance of the new site.

51. Judge Raymond Pace Alexander, personal interview, held in his office October 25, 1968. Also see Independent, March 14, 1937.

52. Merit appointments initiated in 1936-37 refer to the indiscriminate selection of teachers by placing all the names of applicants on a single list. Supposedly, the race of prospective candidates would remain unknown. ~~For additional information of dual and single lists, see above and below.~~

53. Information about the clipped cards was provided by Allan Freelon Jr. in an interview on December 8, 1968.

54. Miss Maguire was charged with a lack of professional ethics, an outspoken demonstration of racial prejudice toward teachers and pupils, and abusive language in the presence of students. See Independent, July 24, 1938 and Tribune, July 21, 1938.

55. See Independent, July 24, 1938.

56. See PSA, Educational Equality League, Annual Report of the President, January 24, 1939, p. 5.

57. See Independent, July 18, 1937 and Tribune, July 15, 1937.

58. See PSA, Negroes in Philadelphia, "League Cities 'Merged List' as 1937 High Spot," p. 2.

59. Judge Raymond Pace Alexander, personal interview, October 25, 1968. Alexander said that the light Negroes felt they were doing black children a favor by showing them how to act and dress. The children were taught by members of Negro "society".

60. Mrs. Sarah S. Collins, personal interview, Executive Director of Women's Christian Alliance, held in her office November 1, 1968.

61. No major black middle class organization in Philadelphia supported racial segregation. The Negro YWCA, Elks, the NAACP, and black press were staunch advocates of integration. No evidence has been found in any papers of the above organizations which offered a different conclusion.

62. Hardin, op. cit., p. 104. Although Hardin's account was published in 1941, there is no reason to believe the attitude of Negro educators was different during the 1930's.

63. The Explorer, monthly bulletin of the Pennsylvania Association of Teachers of Colored Children, May, 1937.

64. See Hardin, op. cit., p. 104. Miss Hardin observed that Negroes connected with the school system were extremely class conscious. They never mentioned the instruction or inferior facilities used by Negro children in segregated elementary schools. Also see Tribune, June 6, 1942 and Inquirer, February 1, 1967.
Additional proof of the personal class consciousness of Negro principals was provided by Mrs. Richard Bland. To avoid antagonizing high administrators, she stated that Negro principals made smaller supply requests for Negro schools than white principals did for white schools.

65. See "Educational Equality League History Highlights," 28th Anniversary Edition (Philadelphia, 1960), and "Fifth Annual Dinner Program," Educational Equality League, June 21, 1968. Also see mss. FDR Library, Democratic National Committee, Box 688, Logan to FDR, November 9, 1932.

Logan was a native of Ashville, North Carolina who lived in Washington, D. C. before moving to Philadelphia. He did not hold a college degree. Yet as a watchman in the Customs Service his occupation would be classified as a middle class job within the black community. On the other hand, Logan was known to be an elevator operator in a Federal Building which casts a somewhat different light on his social status in the black community.

66. Mss., PSA, "League Cities 'Merged List'", op. cit., p. 1. Represented among the fourteen members of the executive committee in 1937 were three physicians, two attorneys, and a realtor, barber, broker, waiter, and clerk.

Since Logan has refused to make his papers available to scholars, it is impossible to offer a definitive assessment of his organization. Apparently, Logan's success may be attributed to his tenacity and forceful personality. Mrs. Sadie Alexander said that Educational Equality League.

67. See PSA, "Philadelphia Public Library," June 19, 1935; "Annual Report of the President," January 24, 1939, pp. 2-6; and "The Progress of the Teaching Profession," March 16, 1939, pp. 9-10.

68. The Negro elementary schools were the Joseph Singerly School, Eugene Fields School, Reynolds School, Dunbar School, Durham School, Henry Axe School, Harrison School, Logan School, and the Joseph Hill School. Later the Arthur, Arnold, and Wilson schools were added.

69. This was attributed to the fact that teaching was a profession which attracted some of the most gifted Negroes in the city because other occupations were closed to the race. Interview, Arthur H. Fauset, September 21, 1974.

70. The quality of Negro schools, if measured by the credentials of its faculty, was excellent. Mrs. Overton, for example, held an A.B. from the University of Pennsylvania and an M.A. from Columbia. See mss.,

PSA, "The Progression of the Teaching Profession," p. 9.

71. Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander, personal interview, held in her office, October 11, 1968.

72. PSA, "The Progression of the Teaching Profession," op. cit., pp. 6-9.

73. PSA, "The Progression of the Teaching Profession," op. cit., pp. 10-11. Quoted from The Explorer, Monthly Bulletin of Pennsylvania Association of Teachers of Colored Children, May, 1937.

74. PSA, "The Progression of the Teaching Profession," op. cit., pp. 11-12.

75. John Freeman, the chauffer for Add Anderson, Secretary of the School Board, told his boss that Negroes, "would raise hell" if the dual list was not terminated. The 300 member PATCC was outnumbered by laymen in the black community, causing the Board to obey wishes of the larger group. Interview, John J. Freeman, December 8, 1968.

76. See Independent, March 21, 1937.

77. Independent, April 18, 1937.

78. Independent, May 23, 1937.

79. Independent, March 21, 1937. See column by Arthur H. Fauset, "School Future Depends on Courage and Action".

Note that Fauset said nothing about merged lists or the upgrading of Negro schools. Floyd Logan suggested that Fauset was not a true integrationists, for Fauset had only special or personal interests in mind, Floyd Logan, personal interview, held in his home, August 31, 1970.

80. Membership lists of these organizations are not available, but college membership, business affiliations, fraternal membership, professionalism, "responsible" Negro churches, and V.F.W. affiliation comprised the overwhelming majority of the signatories to the Citizens Co-Ordinating Committee. There was only 1 union (Truckers Union, A.F. of L.); but 6 social clubs; 10 lodges, fraternities and alumni associations; 10

churches; 4 American Legion and V.F.W. Posts; 1 business and professional association; 4 newspapers; 4 civic leagues; 3 race oriented organizations and societies; and 2 political clubs were listed. According to Floyd Logan, the only prominent Negroes supporting his cause were publisher E. Washington Rhodes, Athletic Commissioner Joseph H. Rainey, attorneys Walter Gay and John Francis Williams, and the educator Allan Freelon. See Private Correspondence of Floyd Logan; letter from James H. Young to Floyd Logan, June 19, 1937.

In a personal interview, Logan expressed his disgust at the Negro community for fighting him rather than whites responsible for the existing educational problems of the race.

81. Again, John Freeman's assessment of Negroes "raising hell" seems most appropriate. (Mrs. Sadie Alexander concerted with this view.) The middle class black community, perhaps more than the League, seemed instrumental in seeing that Board policies designed to integrate schools were enforced. Another significant development occurred in 1939 when the Coordinating Committee and the League combined efforts to improve the status of black teachers and pupils in Philadelphia schools. See mss., PSA, "The Freelon Case," p. 1.

82. See PSA, "Annual Report of the President to members of the Educational Equality League, op. cit., January 24, 1939, pp. 6-7.

83. Tribune, October 22, 1936. Also see International News Service, A Newsletter Published by the Department of Race Relations (New York: Federal Council of Churches, 1938).

84. The Board's decision was probably based on the fear that a white exodus would result in an undersupplied student enrollment at Vaux Junior High. Since a number of white students had already been allowed to transfer to other schools, it was imperative that white emigration be curtailed. The white students justified the maintenance of a predominately white faculty.

85. The Freelons were an "Old Philadelphia" family whose history in the city dated back to the 19th century. But unlike many of his peers, Allan Freelon was willing to champion unpopular causes which could advance the race even at his personal expense.

86. See Independent, April 30, 1939.

87. See mss., PSA, Stanford research notes, op. cit., pp. 1-2. Freelon argued that his assignment was permanent and no examination was mentioned or implied concerning the post he held.

88. See Independent, May 21, 1939; Tribune, May 18 and 25, 1939; mss., PSA, "Freelon Case" op. cit., pp. 1-2; and Stanford report, July 10, 1939.

89. Independent, May 14, 1939.

90. Interview held in the residence of Dr. Harry J. Loman, retired professor from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, January 7, 1968.

91. The number of black students aged 6 to 16 years increased from 35,273 in 1930 to 45,065 ten years after, an increase of 27.7 percent. Black professional and semi-professional educators grew from 553 to 591, an increase of only 6.8 percent. See Statistical Reports, Department of Instruction, op. cit., p. 133. See 16th Census of the United States, op. cit., Vol. II, Part 6, p. 212.

92. See PSA, "Facts Pertaining to Negroes in Philadelphia School System," June 4, 1941.

93. For example district five, a transitional district with an increasing Negro enrollment contained only 12 percent of Philadelphia's public school enrollment, but comprised 74 percent of the part-time enrollment for the entire city. Unlike high part-time enrollment figures for other districts caused by students waiting to be transferred from dilapidated buildings to newly constructed schools, absenteeism in district five was directly attributed to overcrowding and inadequate facilities. See Independent, July 12, 1936. Neither organization made any specific mention of this problem. In a personal interview, Reverend Charles Beckett suggested that deteriorating schools were caused by white rather than black indifference. Reverend Charles Beckett, personal interview, held in his home, December 11, 1968.

94. See Independent, July 12, 1936. As late as 1941 Clarence Whyte, a black principal at the Durham School and President of the Armstrong Association expressed

interest primarily in the dearth of Negro school counselors, heads of departments, school visitors, secretaries and teachers. The only remark made about black students was that they comprised 50,400 of 336,400 in Philadelphia public schools. See mss., PSA, "Facts Pertaining to Negroes in Philadelphia School System," p. 1.

95. See Independent, December 18, 1938.

96. "What Makes Johnny Bad?", op. cit., p. 10. Also see Hardin, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

97. For a contemporary discussion of this idea, see Clark, op. cit., p. 151.

98. As late as 1946 segregation continued to flourish in public school faculties. All senior high school teachers were white; only one regular teacher, one vocational teacher, and three substitute teachers of the Negro race were found in Philadelphia's public high schools. Brown, op. cit., pp. 54-55.